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ANALYSIS OF THE CORE ISSUES TO BE ADDRESSED BY THE SUMMIT AND POLICY MEASURES TO ATTAIN ITS OBJECTIVES IN ACCORDANCE WITH GENERAL ASSEMBLY RESOLUTION 47/92

Expert Meeting on Social Integration

Note by the Secretary-General

1. In its decision 8 of 16 April 1993, the Preparatory Committee for the World Summit for Social Development 1/ requested the Secretary-General to organize, as part of the preparatory process for the Summit, expert meetings focused on the core issues of the Summit. It decided that the purpose of the input from experts in the field of social development was to provide expert opinion on contemporary, relevant research data on the respective core issues, both in the field of problem analysis and that of (possible) policy measures. To further that objective the meetings should be forums for scholarly exchange and should use the provisions of General Assembly resolution 47/92 as terms of reference for their work. The Preparatory Committee also requested the Secretary-General to forward the results of the expert meetings to it for consideration, as appropriate, at its first session.

2. In the same decision the Preparatory Committee accepted with appreciation the offer of the Governments of the Netherlands and Sweden to host and finance one such expert meeting each.

3. The Expert Meeting on Social Integration was organized by the United Nations and hosted by the Ministers for Development Cooperation and for Welfare, Health and Cultural Affairs of the Netherlands. It was held at The Hague, Netherlands, from 27 September to 1 October 1993. The report of the Expert Meeting is annexed to the present note.

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* A/CONF.166/PC/5.

Notes

1/ Official Records of the General Assembly, Forty-eighth Session, Supplement No. 24 (A/48/24), annex II.

Annex

EXPERT MEETING ON SOCIAL INTEGRATION

THE HAGUE, NETHERLANDS

27 SEPTEMBER-1 OCTOBER 1993

I. THE NEED TO ENHANCE SOCIAL INTEGRATION

1. The choice of the topic "enhancement of social integration, particularly of the more disadvantaged and marginalized groups" as one of the core issues for the World Summit for Social Development reflects a perception in the international community of a worldwide trend towards sharpened social inequalities and divisions and growing personal insecurity. This trend adversely affects individual well-being as well as social stability and cohesion in different parts of the world.

2. Specific examples of social polarization and disintegration abound: there are growing income disparities in many societies; increased economic insecurity through unemployment, hyperinflation, cuts in social benefits and services; policy shifts de-emphasizing social solidarity and community while stressing the virtues of competition, economic efficiency and individual provision - an approach perhaps most aptly described as a new social Darwinism. There is a rise in violence, conflicts and various forms of crime. One can point to ethnic and civil strife and, in some places, to the total collapse of organized society. Social polarization is frequently exacerbated by intransigent and intolerant ideologies, increasingly directed at "outsiders".

3. People's well-being - better standards of life in larger freedom, as the Charter of the United Nations states - is and should always remain the objective of development. Development policies must take people as their main agents and fundamental subject; development is a multi-dimensional process which can hardly be dealt with on the basis of any simplified model. The current process of change brings both desirable and highly undesirable phenomena. Among those which are desirable, significance should be attributed to the improvement of living standards and progress in social participation in some regions and countries.

The problem

4. The undesirable results need special attention, analysis and, where possible, preventive action. These encompass phenomena emerging at three interrelated levels: the global, the national and the subnational. They embrace all the trends adverse to the quality of life of various groups of people.

5. The growing occurrence of social conflicts, exclusion of disadvantaged and marginalized groups, and the poverty, alienation and lack of security of a large and growing number of people threatens the peace, survival and sustainable development of the human community.

6. The dynamics of the market system simultaneously produce inclusion and exclusion, integration and disintegration. There are not only those who are left behind or cannot be "lifted into the lifeboat", but also those who are thrown overboard, who become excluded. Exclusion is also the result of the concentration of control over capital and technology in the framework of the globalization and restructuring of economic processes. Furthermore, these processes aggravate the deterioration of the environment, thus undermining the possibilities for social development. The rapid growth of world population runs counter to any positive policies of containing various forms of social maldevelopment.

7. The crisis is more serious than is generally thought. The multiplying instability, poverty and inequality take both a quantitative and qualitative form. Without identifying all the long-term historical causes, in some respects diverging living standards and deepening poverty are becoming marked features of the world of the 1990s. These have to be traced, measured and understood.

Shared concerns

8. There are several related trends. One is the persisting, and indeed widening, inequality between the first and third worlds. There is an increase in absolute as well as relative poverty in most of the 45 poorest developing countries.

9. In the African continent as a whole, the crisis is of such intensity that collective welfare provisions are becoming more and more a pipedream, with the result that families are having to shoulder increasing responsibilities in health, education and employment creation. Malnutrition is another widespread occurrence which is becoming almost commonplace. Increased poverty in this continent exists within a context of social inequality.

10. Yet another trend is the widening inequality within several, if not most, of the richest countries of the world, as well as within middle-income and low-income countries. In several of the richest countries poverty was greater on average in the 1980s than earlier, and had increased very sharply by the end of the decade. Material deprivation and degradation in parts of some Western cities take forms as bad as those which can be traced in third world countries. The re-emergence of tuberculosis, delinquency, adolescent pregnancy, high death rates from the violence of young males from disadvantaged groups, and homicide and incarceration rates are examples which demand closer investigation and analysis.

11. Some similar phenomena related to the impoverishment of large population groups accompany the systemic transformation in the post-communist countries of east and central Europe, which is partly attributable to the lack of adequate concern for the social costs of transition.

12. In several industrialized countries statistical indicators suggest that for substantial sections of the low-income populations the real value of disposable income at the end of the 1980s was smaller than at the beginning of the 1980s. There is evidence of a correlation between mortality rates, incidence of long-term unemployment, homelessness and rates of reported crimes, especially personal violence.

13. The common feature of these negative phenomena is that, through increasing disparities and social polarization, they tend to cause marginalization and exclusion: some poor nations acquire the status of permanent outsiders; within nations some social groups, such as the permanently unemployed and the poor, find it impossible to raise their status, being segregated by deepening impoverishment; at the subnational level various societies tend to evolve in the direction of increasing inequities and regional differentiations.

Challenges for policy

14. To further social integration and social development will require a reordering of development objectives and priorities, a restructuring of the institutions of development and reorganization of productive activities.

15. This is not the first time in recent history that humanity has faced such a challenge. At the end of the Second World War, the response to the crisis of the 1930s ("we should not let it happen again") was the social compact in Western countries, the welfare state and social market economy, and the development of the social welfare agenda in the decolonization process.

16. At the end of a century marked by wars and conflicts, as well as the creation of unprecedented scientific and technological advances, there is a need for coherent and integrated socio-ecological wholes, bound together by the realities of the life-support system of the planet and our shared evolutionary processes. There is a need to establish the imperatives of social coherence and integrity for social development. The question of distribution of power among groups and nations and the question of social equity in the access to ecological resources are critical aspects of the development process.

II. FORMS, DIMENSIONS, LEVELS AND ACTORS

17. Social integration is an important objective of development or, perhaps more usefully stated, a good organizing principle for policy. But it is important to stress that the concept is both complicated and potentially deceptive. It is necessary to distinguish various "forms" of social integration, as well as the context in which it is pursued or promoted. Although broad principles may apply universally, much of the detail that needs to inform policy is specific to place and time. Relevant, of course, is the degree of homogeneity of a particular society, but often sheer difference in scale is decisive.

Forms of integration

18. Coming, as we do, from different societies and bringing to bear experience from different cultures and political realities, we are sensitive to the need for receptiveness to the requirements of distinct contexts. However, we can readily agree that the objective of social integration cannot be pursued at any cost but only in so far as it is consistent with certain basic human values, enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations, such as autonomy and the dignity and freedom of the individual human being. Not all kinds of integration are equally valuable, and some are clearly undesirable.

19. Two forms of social integration which are well known from historical experience and are clearly undesirable, are hierarchical integration and coercive integration, whose basis was privileges and restrictions that were once accepted as right, proper and desirable by the lower as well as the higher social strata. Social integration on this basis is no longer tolerable in the modern world. More recently, totalitarian regimes have sometimes maintained a high degree of social integration by controlling the instruments of coercion and manipulation; this too is unacceptable.

20. It also has to be borne in mind that in many cases it is precisely the way in which individuals and groups are integrated into society - in a subordinate manner - which is the problem.

21. Social integration in the contemporary world has to be on the basis of equality in at least some sense of the term. Minimally, there has to be equality of opportunity between individuals without regard to race, caste, ethnicity or gender. But formal equality of opportunity does not guarantee equality of outcome. Therefore, in addition to equality of opportunity it may be necessary, when considering levels of living, to think of minimum standards below which no one is allowed to fall. In view of the increasing strain being put on the Earth's limited resources and of the need for global solidarity, it may be necessary also to apply measures to discourage excessive consumption. The global population issue is as much an issue of high per capita consumption of food and energy in industrialized countries as an issue of high birth rates in developing countries.

Meanings and dimensions

22. The objective of social integration deserves clarification in yet another direction. Part of that clarification lies in comprehending the different meanings of the term "social" that are sometimes intended in calling attention to the importance of "social integration". Thus, it is of critical importance to keep in mind the distinction between the individual and the social. The virtues and risks of individualism have attracted worldwide attention in the form of self-interest and consumer values.

23. Individuals are simultaneously private consumers and users of public services that serve the common good. The present concern about new definitions of citizenship and the civil society revolve around the idea of the value of common entitlements and rights, but also duties to observe rules which protect collective interests. Terms such as "citizenship" refer to sets of principles or programmes designed to provide a basis for individual effort and contribution as much as for individual welfare.

24. Individuals are not, of course, alone. They are members of families, groups (e.g. neighbours, friends, workmates) and communities. As such they have social roles, and therefore social obligations, as well as being individual beneficiaries of reciprocal customs or methods of care. Individuals belong to social networks. The persistence of the network is a condition of individual quality of life. The "social" is more, however, than the extension of individual identities and the conditioning of individual behaviour through membership in groups by means of "natural" relationships. It can variously mean a condition, or an entitlement, or a motivation shared with others. There are

major utilities and services which are "public" utilities or services or "social" utilities and services.

25. We think it important to draw attention to the need to use terms precisely to avoid misunderstandings. In our own discussions, we confronted this problem and we wish to issue a warning. For example, disintegration can lead to forms of exclusion, but not necessarily. Disintegration can be positive, in the sense that it is a precursor or precondition of integration at a higher level. Only when disintegration leads to a permanent state of exclusion can it be considered as necessarily negative, and it may then be seen as the opposite of "inclusion" or "belonging".

26. Social exclusion can occur in different spheres: economic, political and socio-cultural. Exclusion in one does not necessarily mean exclusion in the others.

Exclusion

27. In the case of social exclusion, a number of important distinctions should be borne in mind. First, there is a difference in kind between situations of exclusion referring to relatively small groups or small proportions of the population, and situations where a large minority or a majority of the population is excluded from economic, social or political rights. Examples of the latter include exclusion based on gender, in some cases based on ethnic group, or perhaps based on ownership of land or other assets. The nature of the changes in policy and in the economy required to deal with these different situations may be quite different. Second, there is a difference between exclusion and marginalization. The latter refers to simultaneous exclusion (of groups or individuals) along several dimensions, thereby putting them outside the mainstream of society. But exclusion may be partial; there can be economic inclusion with political exclusion, as is true of labour in some settings; exclusion from the labour market may not imply marginalization if there is access to general systems of social protection. Third, the processes leading to the exclusion or marginalization of individuals are often quite distinct from those affecting social groups. Fourth, the link between social exclusion and poverty is complex and needs to be better understood. Poverty may be consistent with integration, and relative wealth with exclusion in some dimensions. Nevertheless, it appears probable that exclusion will in most circumstances contribute to the aggravation of poverty.

28. There are, of course, dynamic interrelationships of cause and effect among the economic, political and socio-cultural spheres, with policies or events in one sphere affecting the possibility for social integration in others, and vice versa.

Levels of integration

29. In the United Nations the customary starting-point for discussion of social integration is the State, the global level also being increasingly relevant. The present reality is that the majority of States are not homogeneous social units, but include, typically, a diversity of ethnic or linguistic groups, cultures or religions. The 184 States Members of the United Nations actually contain several thousand "nations" or "peoples". Most countries are

"multi-ethnic" or "multi-cultural". Thus, we cannot conceive of successful integration as being based on anything but the acceptance of diversity and pluralism. Societies will need to adjust institutions to accommodate differences. A high degree of tolerance will be required.

30. Different "actors" are involved in the search for greater social integration. At the national level, central government policies remain of primary importance. At the same time, the specific functions of central government are moving in the direction of "orchestrator" and "organizer", while direct provision or involvement is de-emphasized in various areas. Privatization, deregulation, out-sourcing, subcontracting to the private sector or to non-governmental organizations are some manifestations of this trend. A distinction is being drawn between government as provider and government as purchaser. It remains to be seen whether these changes might promote efficiency without heavy social cost or negative impact on social integration (or whether, indeed, the objectives of greater efficiency will be realized, and in what circumstances).

Different actors

31. Significantly, new forms of partnership among different levels of government, the private sector and civil society are coming into being. We welcome these developments and support experimentation; at the same time, we see the need for careful monitoring and readjustment of policies if they tend towards social disintegration or exclusion.

32. The public service institutions of civil society are becoming more significant. We note their potential as agents for social integration and the promotion of equal opportunity, as well as for pluralistic, full and democratic participation at all levels of society.

33. Among the positive characteristics of civil society as an integrative force we note particularly the voluntary nature of these institutions, based as they are on shared consciousness and values, and the importance of their self-organizing and self-limiting nature, their intimacy of scale, communicative function, basis in social movements and ecological values.

III. APPROACHES TO GREATER INTEGRATION

34. Individual national and sub-national conditions vary significantly and thus limit severely, as we noted earlier, any attempt at defining universal policies. Nevertheless, there are strong grounds for redirecting policy based on an analytical approach which pays more attention to the needs and aspirations of people traditionally left out or discriminated against. We urge that such an approach be adopted, not because it would assist the disadvantaged and excluded (although it would), but because it is fundamental to the definition of a just and equitable society. The goal is not merely to integrate a "social dimension into the development process", but to redefine the concept of development - and, therefore to change the primary concern of development policy - so that it becomes truly socially relevant.

35. Several aspects of a new approach to social integration are discussed below. There remains a basic divergence of opinion as to whether remedial policies and programmes, even those which reflect a new, "socially appropriate" approach, can be more than temporary measures designed to alleviate the worst instances of deprivation. From this point of view, they are perhaps transitional strategies on the road to a more just society.

Redistribution policies

36. At the national level, corrective measures require cooperation among various actors, including national and local government, the private sector and independent social organizations. Nevertheless, national government action will remain of primary importance for the foreseeable future. Among the actions government may take, top priority should be attached to establishing redistributive policies which discourage exorbitant income differentiation and channel resources to the poor or disadvantaged. Redistribution of resources through government tax policy is not only one of the primary means of influencing the social consequences of economic policies, but also may have strong political ramifications. Redistribution policies should, however, be clearly seen to support well-defined social programmes, oriented primarily towards the basic objectives of social development (health, education, culture); taxation which is not seen by the public as supporting strong social priorities is likely to be resisted.

37. We contend that the benefits to be obtained from compensatory policies fall within the interests of the entire society and hence should be considered desirable. At the same time, a case should be made for making wide use of progressive taxation to discourage the emergence of excessive income disparities, which may be taken as an indication of social disintegration. This is primarily true because of the inordinate power which accrues to the wealthy: when resources and incomes are highly skewed, the ability of the richest sector of society to dominate economic, political and social discourse is exaggerated. The negative implications for the development of democratic institutions and traditions are obvious.

38. Nevertheless, there are limits to the social impact of redistributive taxation. Generic measures, such as redistribution through taxation, rarely benefit the neediest sectors of society; instead, it is those groups which already have access to the system who benefit most. It should also be added that excessive taxation must be considered counterproductive to development objectives because it may stifle individual initiative and the motivation needed for the advancement of societies. Such motivation continues to require the enticement of relatively high income-earning potential and the prospect of passing on a part of one's wealth to the next generation. Ideal levels of taxation cannot be determined in any general way. They must be adapted to the particular needs, traditions and conditions of individual countries.

39. In addition to the rather basic tool of taxation, there are other redistributive options available to government. One such option is to target specific groups and reallocate budgetary priorities to services which meet their needs. The relative merits of directing spending away from curative treatment towards preventative primary health care and of strengthening universal primary education are well known and do not require repeating. It bears mentioning,

however, that the success of attempts to target services has been mixed; they rarely reach the poorest of the poor. The chronically poor or excluded groups require additional and more specific attention.

40. To reach the "poorest of the poor" or other groups which have been severely excluded from society requires pro-active intervention not only to ensure that they are aware of the services available but also to ensure that they are capable of utilizing those services. Experience from both developed and developing countries indicates that often, when services are made available to groups which have historically been excluded from partaking of social services, they do not and cannot automatically utilize those services merely because they now exist. The key word is empowerment. In order to ensure the effectiveness of redistributive programmes aimed at the poorest or most excluded groups, efforts must be undertaken to empower and build the capacity of those groups to utilize the services offered. This may be a fundamental step towards the fuller empowerment of such groups and ultimately their better integration into society.

41. Policies of redistribution have to be rationalized. Indeed, some have a new relevance (in relation to inheritance, consumer-good and corporate taxes, for example). But that still ignores the all-important role of policies of "distribution". The rationale of rates of profit and top salaries, as well as rates of taxation and minimum wages, is critical in such an analysis and deserves priority over corrective measures such as personal income taxation.

42. Corporate boards should be more accountable and should exercise greater responsibility in their decisions to make redundant thousands of employees, transform pension rights and introduce casual or temporary work and should not close plants without advance warning or public consultation.

Corrective vs. preventative action

43. When considering steps aimed at overcoming social exclusion, there is an urgent need to balance "corrective" action with "preventive" action. There is a complex list of measures that might be taken at international, national and regional or local levels to establish rights, life-chances, wages and minimum entitlement to benefits (on the part of unemployed, sick, disabled and elderly people) to create the conditions and framework for social development. Such a policy framework must also include provisions to restrain excessive forms of personal and corporate aggrandizement, in the common, or public, interest. Hierarchies of wealth are being constructed not just to the detriment of the marginalized and excluded, but also at the cost of general insecurity and sudden impoverishment of the formerly secure middle-classes. In short, there have to be social and not just market "policies" for wealth creation.

Overcoming discrimination

44. There can be no question that invidious discrimination is abhorrent and unacceptable in modern societies. In compliance with international standards, Governments have a responsibility to ensure that all forms of discrimination which aim to exclude or repress individuals or groups are outlawed. Sadly, there is some evidence that certain Governments have utilized forms of discrimination to perpetuate their own power, in essence victimizing minorities to preserve the status of favoured groups and their own position; any attempt by

a Government to perpetuate or support discrimination is to be deplored and resisted in the strongest terms.

45. At the same time, legal prohibition of discrimination is rarely sufficient to overcome the accumulated negative effects of historical discrimination. In many societies discrimination has become internalized in the culture or even within family or community networks; more sophisticated responses are required to counteract such a complex and slippery problem.

46. In some instances, attempts have been made to overcome the effects of discrimination through the development of preferential policies or measures of a compensatory nature. Policies of positive discrimination, or affirmative action in favour of disadvantaged groups, seek to balance two contradictory principles: equal opportunity for all and special opportunities for some. The evidence from several countries indicates that such policies can be effective in improving the situation of groups which have suffered disadvantage or discrimination, but that legislative action needs to be supported by strong state intervention and broad-based political and social support for the measures concerned. Effective action to eliminate discrimination requires a clear understanding of the complex issues at stake, and it implies direct action on the social, economic and political structures (such as labour market segmentation) involved.

47. It is important to keep in sight the political conditions under which preferential policies come to be adopted and to distinguish between policies adopted in the interest of greater equality and those adopted in order to secure a balance of power. Preferential policies lose their direction when preferences designed for severely disadvantaged groups are extended, as a result of political bargains, to groups that use their power to declare themselves disadvantaged.

48. A danger of intervention which does not have broad-based support is that it may provoke a backlash which sets back policy objectives rather than advancing them. Mobilizing support for intervention is therefore as important as designing legislation. In this context, promoting equality of opportunity is an important objective, but it may not be enough if the structure of opportunities is itself highly unequal and remains so. Economic and social policies need to aim at restructuring the pattern of opportunities as well as the distribution of access to them.

49. Furthermore, an in-depth understanding of the nature of the discrimination to be counteracted is essential to effective policy-making. Evidence indicates that policies of positive discrimination do not always achieve the desired results. They may sometimes be co-opted by unexpected groups or by the better off among the discriminated group, or they may be used to discriminate against others, merely perpetuating the evil they were intended to eliminate.

50. If the ends of social justice require not merely the removal of impediments but also the creation of abilities, then quotas in education and employment, for example, may not be the most satisfactory way of meeting those ends. Such quotas can at best provide special opportunities for a few, whereas what is required is the creation of certain basic capabilities for all. What is required are policies which guarantee fundamental human rights, social justice and equity to all members of society, combined with policies which respect

pluralism and diversity. There can be no question of eliminating all distinctions or diversity in society; policies which aim to integrate can themselves be discriminatory if they result in the destruction of individual diversity. Furthermore, careful attention must also be given to the distinction between policies designed to remove barriers or eliminate discrimination against groups and policies designed to equalize life chances for individuals.

The development of alternative networks; civil society; self-empowerment; participation

51. The concept of the civil society as a complement to government and the private sector has been discussed previously in this report. What is of interest here are the potential of the "civil society" to provide a more appropriate response to people's (and especially poor people's) social needs and the implications of this alternative network for the fuller social integration and more effective participation of those people in their societies.

52. Where social disintegration or exclusion exist, or where there is evidence of coercive or hierarchical integration, there is also a primary need to acknowledge the fundamental rights of minority or marginalized groups to social equity and to facilitate their access to the development process. It is essential to support and promote the "civil society" as a voice for the normative integration of the perspective of peoples in communities. The organizations and social movements which constitute a part of the "civil society" have the potential to provide a forum for the participation and the empowerment of the excluded in society and as such are likely to be fundamental to social integration on the basis of equity and for the development of democracy.

53. Clearly, the definition, composition and functioning of the "civil society" in its various national and cultural manifestations requires much greater attention and analysis.

New initiatives in the private sector

54. Something to be avoided, in an analysis of current problems, is the attempt to blame any person, group, institution or organization for the inability of society to resolve the long-standing existence of poverty, misery, unemployment, violence, exclusion or disintegration. There may be a temptation to seek easy explanations or to identify villains, but giving in to such temptation certainly does not promote a better understanding of where we are and especially where we are going.

55. Greater inequalities, increasing poverty and more violence are some of the extensive list of negative results of the traditional models of development we have witnessed during the last decades. The Communist model had some success in reducing levels of inequality, but its failure had a lot to do with its inability to deal with questions of personal freedom and participation. The crisis of capitalism, on the other hand, is founded on its inability to permit the development of a society where the results of growth could be more evenly distributed to all its members.

56. A new model is now emerging, where the values of freedom, equality, participation, solidarity and diversity are as important as (or more important than) access to the consumption of goods and services. From the economic point of view, it is clear that in order to survive, private enterprises will have to change from a model based on maximizing profit to a model which emphasizes social responsibility and accountability to the community.

57. The focus is no longer simply on production, but on attending to the desires and expectation of consumers, with the participation of managers and workers, respecting the community and also remunerating the shareholders. The focus of the productive organization that seeks its own survival in the long run is on people rather than merely on profit.

58. Competition is certainly maintained, but so is the idea of stable partnership. What has been learned is that teamwork is more important than the individual contribution of one person, and the model of the authoritarian chief must be replaced by the model of the leader who responds to the needs and aspirations of his staff and the larger community in which his company operates and seeks to survive. The attempt is being made to create positive sum situations in which both the company and the community can not only benefit in the short term but also survive in the longer term.

59. In essence, private business may be learning to integrate social considerations. The implications of this development have, perhaps, yet to be fully understood. What is being argued is that at the microeconomic level, this new paradigm is leading to a more democratic workplace and that this development has an enormous influence on the formation of citizenship, with tremendous implications for the construction of a new democratic society.

Measuring social development

60. Comprehensive measurement of social integration is not a practical proposition. All that can be expected is the systematic measurement of some aspects of integration, as reflected in relative income equality, levels of unemployment, levels of school enrolment, the extent of democracy and other indicators. Increasing levels of people's participation are a positive sign of social integration. However, since many dimensions of social integration can be assessed only qualitatively, and indeed there is no agreement what all these dimensions are, attempts to construct general indices of integration are not recommended. It may be easier to develop indicators for the opposites of integration, in terms of exclusion or disintegration. It would be useful to pursue these notions further and to try to measure the extent of exclusion in different dimensions and among different groups, since this would be important in supporting anti-poverty programmes.

61. Understanding and analysis of questions of social integration could be greatly assisted through greater disaggregation of statistical measures.

The role of international/multilateral mechanisms

62. Many of the concepts, analyses and suggestions provided in this report will only be made operative with the support of supranational forces promoting change and operating on the basis of a new and socially just global system of

governance. Individual Governments may not have the resources to move in new directions. Following up on the issue of redistribution at the national level, it should be pointed out that policies of redistribution between nations should also be actively pursued. Where resources are lacking they will have to be sought through increased international cooperation. Where national Governments hinder human rights, social justice or equitable social integration, people must have recourse to international bodies, standards or mechanisms to air their grievances. The time has come for the international community to insist that the cloak of "national sovereignty" used to mask abuses be dropped.

63. International action has to be orientated towards the peaceful elimination or reduction of the sources of tendencies which lead to disintegration. They cannot be expected to be successfully eliminated by military intervention; there is a disturbing tendency to attribute increasing importance to the policing role of the United Nations in world affairs. The need for social integration is sometimes wrongly interpreted in terms of the need for an international police force which would enforce "integration" where spontaneous processes go the other way - particularly towards ethnic conflicts which often are only a form in which conflicts of economic interests between various groups find expression. It must be clearly stated that neither military intervention nor any other coercive measures can really be expected to solve the pertinent issues. On the contrary, they rarely attack the real sources of negative social tendencies and may only contribute to the aggravation of inherent tendencies towards disintegration. It would be disappointing, at the very least, if the potential for positive change and development which is represented and embodied by the United Nations were to be sacrificed to the false expediency of military solutions. The issues and problems raised here will have to be dealt with by peaceful measures.

64. A recommendation to the World Summit for Social Development is to empower the United Nations to deal with the root causes of disintegration discussed in this report.

65. The Group of Experts agrees that without substantial change in the international system of governance not much can be expected from sectoral measures meant to deal with certain individual negative aspects of social development. There is also a crying need to integrate better awareness and appreciation for the social dimension of development in the institutional objectives, policies and programmes of the multilateral development institutions.

66. Finally, it must be recognized beyond any doubt that there are a growing number of issues and problems for which only international solutions can be found. The continuing priority given to national parochial interests severely hinders the attempt to find lasting solutions to global problems. There is a pressing need for the world community to recognize its common heritage and future and to act on the basis of mutual respect and a sense of shared responsibility for the dignity of all the people of the world.

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